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Nordic universities at the crossroads

Societal responsibility, language perceptions, and policies

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on questions surrounding universities' societal responsibility in connection to language use, going beyond the national language(s) versus English dichotomy. As a result of university internationalisation and increased migration, both student and faculty populations at Nordic universities have diversified. Nordic universities are currently facing multiple challenges: to maintain academic autonomy and freedom of thought, to protect democratic ideals, to prove the validity of scientific findings, and to conduct most of their activities with the support of digital media. Drawing on findings from recent research conducted in Sweden and Finland and the latest Nordic language policy document (Gregersen et al. 2018), our chapter critically discusses how researchers and students with transnational trajectories perceive their language use. In particular, we consider the role of English vis-à-vis the national language(s) and other languages for purposes of research outreach and widening participation. We argue that there is a mismatch between university policies assuming that societal responsibility concerning language use is largely limited to local national and (to a lesser extent) minority languages, and the translocal experience of university stakeholders who often deal with a range of linguistic resources on a daily basis.

Keywords

Societal responsibility, translocality, scientific outreach, widening participation, multilingualism, English

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Introduction

Nordic universities are currently experiencing tensions between maintaining academic autonomy, protecting democratic ideals, and adjusting to an increasing standardization combined with national and international competition. These kinds of tensions are manifested, for example, in protectionist or promotional stances on the use of national language(s) in education, motivated by the tax-based funding structure of the predominantly public universities. The importance of serving the public is further highlighted by increasing demands on engaging in and documenting outreach activities, raised by public funding bodies. For example, the Academy of Finland asks research project applicants to include a description of the impact of their research in their grant proposals. In this sense, Nordic universities form part of the state-supported system whose societal responsibility primarily aligns with their respective nation state.

At the same time, university research and teaching are expected to compete on an international level, which tends to be measured through research output in international English-language journals and international programmes taught in English (e.g. Gregersen et al. 2018). This competition manifests itself at the individual level in merit systems that privilege research activities and output (Tagliaventi, Carli & Cutolo 2020). On the other hand, in order to counteract elitist trends and protect democratic ideals, Nordic universities have been encouraged to widen the participation of students from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. These somewhat divergent trends have inevitably impacted language uses: both internationalisation and migration processes have led to diversified student and faculty populations at Nordic universities, bringing a plethora of new linguistic resources into contexts where the national language(s) and English have occupied central positions, at least since the turn of the millennium (e.g. Strömberg Jämsvi 2019, this volume).

Not withstanding the fact that most major Nordic universities have always been international and have previously used other academic linguae francae, such as German, French or Latin (cf. Bull, this volume), the current composition of the student populations and academic faculty reflects larger societal trends to a greater extent than ever before. As various recent studies conducted across Nordic universities have demonstrated, an increased diversity of language backgrounds among university stakeholders does not necessarily lead to more varied language practices (e.g. Kuteeva, Kaufhold & Hynninen 2020). In fact, there are two interesting paradoxes related to this phenomenon: the ‘paradox of

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internationalisation' (Haberland & Preisler 2015), i.e. the more languages teachers and students speak, the more likely they are to adopt English as their language of communication, and the 'paradox of widening participation' (Kuteeva, Kaufhold & Hynninen 2020), i.e. there is a need for students and other university stakeholders with minority or migration backgrounds to adapt their language uses to the standard variety of the national language(s) and/or English. These two paradoxes largely reflect an ongoing 'duel of monolingualisms' (Holmes 2020) at Nordic universities, while various bottom-up grassroot multilingual practices are relegated to backstage activities, such as informal communication with colleagues or note-taking (e.g. Holmes 2020; Kaufhold in press). Thus, despite their invisibility in high-stakes contexts, such as university examinations or research publications, multiple linguistic resources play an important role in knowledge production and outreach.

Although international mobility and migration have been curbed by the latest Covid-19 crisis, an increased use of online platforms for university education and research communication has further blurred the national boundaries on the one hand and exposed social inequalities on the other. In particular, the introduction of online teaching as a default form of delivery for university education has increased the digital divide between different segments of society: students from the less privileged backgrounds are often the ones who do not have access to the kinds of technologies required for video-conferencing and to adequate study environments (O'Malley 2020; Ortega 2020), which hinders widening participation. In the field of research, gender inequalities have come to the fore as work and home spaces have become intertwined, making it more difficult for female academics to conduct and publish their research (Fazackerley 2020; Flaherty 2020).

In this fast-changing context, where does societal responsibility for Nordic universities lie? Our chapter addresses this overarching question drawing on recent findings of research conducted at universities in two Nordic countries, Finland and Sweden. In order to go beyond the traditional notions of nationhood and citizenship, our analysis adopts a theoretical lens of translocality, a concept that emphasizes non-linear processes which produce interrelations between different places and people, combining both the local and global as meaningful parameters for social and cultural activities (Kytölä 2016). In the following sections, we start by outlining this theoretical concept, followed by a brief discussion of the latest Nordic university language policy document, and finally focusing on the language perceptions of university stakeholders.

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We argue that there is a mismatch between university policies that position universities as strongly national institutions, assuming that societal responsibility concerning language use is limited to local national and, to a lesser extent, minority languages, and the translocal experience of university stakeholders who often deal with a range of linguistic resources on a daily basis. This mismatch raises questions about language use beyond the traditional English versus the local national language(s) dilemma. It also calls attention to the potential of new types of multilingualism encountered in Nordic universities and the challenges related to those, as well as the potential of diversifying research outputs to communities beyond the local national ones.

Translocality

One broad definition of translocality is "being identified with more than one location" (Oakes and Schein 2006: xiii). As a theoretical concept, translocality emerged to overcome some of the conceptual weaknesses of transnationalism, as the latter was built on more fixed, traditional assumptions of nationhood and citizenship (Geiner & Sakdapolrak 2013). In contrast to transnationalism, translocality addresses localities and mobilities within a holistic context. Previous research engaging with a translocal perspective tends to combine fluidity and discontinuity related to mobilities and flows on the one hand with situatedness in particular settings on the other (Geiner & Sakdapolrak 2013: 376). In sum, definitions of translocality are concerned with issues related to globalization, mobility, locality, and different forms of connectivity. Digital technologies play a crucial role in enabling the movement of cultural flows across different contexts and communities (e.g. Kytölä 2016; Leppänen et al. 2009), and their role has increased exponentially in a post-Covid-19 university context.

Like many other concepts of spatial orientation, translocality was developed in the social sciences, such as human geography, area studies, and anthropology (Geiner & Sakdapolrak 2013) but it has also been adapted to account for language use in sociolinguistic research. For example, Kytölä (2016) identifies five dimensions of translocality in connection to language and digital communication:

1) *translocality of individuals*, who move and navigate across different physical, socio- cultural and virtual locales;

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2) *translocality of communities*, who occupy and inhabit several physical, socio-cultural and virtual spaces;
3) *translocality of communication*, which takes place simultaneously in different parts of the physical world, enhanced by forms of digital communication;
4) *translocality of culture(s), cultural expression and cultural products*, which are produced and consumed, as well as given significance, various meta-readings and evaluations across and between locales;
5) *translocality of experience and social meaning*, which arise from processes where individuals and communities across several locales have common interests, values, affiliations and identifications, and share these through digitally mediated means.

(Kytölä 2016: 377, original italics)

All five dimensions of translocality can be applicable to the study of language and communication in university contexts to various extents, and many of them appear to be intertwined when applied to specific cases. For example, a researcher affiliated with a Nordic university may have had an academic trajectory involving different locales, both through physical mobility and through online communication. As a member of an academic community, this researcher is situated in a particular university context with its own culture but also participates in wider networks involving communication with members situated in different parts of the physical world, while sharing common interests, values, and affiliations, maintaining these affinities on a daily basis with the support of digital means. Navigating between the local and global dimensions, this researcher also draws on various linguistic resources to different extents, including English, the local national language, which may or may not be their first language, as well as other languages and semiotic resources (cf. Canagarajah 2018). For instance, in our own translocal experiences as scholars with transnational trajectories, these linguistic resources have included English, our first languages, and the local national languages of the institutions where we have worked or studied (e.g. English, Finnish, German, Portuguese, Russian, Swedish).

While working at Nordic universities, we have encountered many students who participate in different communities and form affinity groups across different locales, often with the support of digital media (e.g. Leppänen et al. 2009). English plays an important role in securing this type

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of connectivity well beyond the academic domain, enabling young people to have translocal experiences without physical mobility, e.g. through video games (e.g. Sundqvist & Sylvén 2016). At the same time, we have also encountered students whose linguistic repertoires include languages other than the local national language and English but their multilingualism does not necessarily facilitate their participation in academic communities, neither in the local context nor internationally. The type of translocality that is not supported by English or the local national language and associated cultural flows can pose a challenge or be made invisible in university settings (see Clarke 2020; Kaufhold & Wennerberg 2020).

Although the five dimensions outlined by Kytölä appear to open up new opportunities for flows of ideas and knowledge across different networked places, it is important to adopt a critical stance and avoid romanticizing translocality. Similarly to multilingualism (e.g. Duchêne 2020), it comes with its own luggage of social inequalities and injustices. In this chapter, we draw on research findings related to students' and researchers' experiences of translocality to consider its different dimensions from the perspective of individual experiences of students and researchers as members of their academic communities. For example, as we will see below, research groups make use of the transnational ties of their group members to spread information about their results to various communities across the globe. Students with diverse linguistic backgrounds face dilemmas in having to study in the local/national language(s) or English, and the extent to which they can make use of their other linguistic resources varies. These kinds of practices may be at odds with the values of the host institution and its expectations of serving the local national community. In order to explore this tension, we now turn to the discussion of the latest policy document for Nordic universities.

Nordic universities, societal responsibility, and language policy

According to the most recent supranational publication by the Nordic Council of Ministers titled *More Parallel, Please!* (Gregersen et al. 2018), Nordic universities are "key national institutions" (p. 27) while at the same time being places of international contact and knowledge exchange. The idea of university institutions being affected by both "organisational nationalism" and "disciplinary internationalisation" has been repeated to the extent of becoming trivial (Saarinen 2014: 127–128). While this duality still seems to hold some truth, it does not capture the translocal dimension

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of university activities. The perceived societal responsibility of universities is related to the idea of organisational nationalism, i.e. that Nordic universities which mostly operate as state-funded organisations are intended to serve the interests of the nation. In terms of language use, this organisational nationalism partly determines the choice of teaching language(s), which may also be stipulated by law (e.g. SFS 2009:600, Universities Act 558/2009). It also entails an expectation that researchers reach out to members of the local/national community in the language(s) of this community. Disciplinary internationalisation, on the other hand, often requires the use of languages that transcend national borders, which nowadays tends to mean the use of English as an academic lingua franca. It is assumed that in order to succeed in disciplinary internationalisation, academics and students need to take part in this kind of translocal disciplinary communication, whether through digital channels or through physical mobility.

In terms of individual mobility, this translocality leads to various forms of temporary and more permanent migration that bring together speakers of various languages which they have acquired through their personal and academic trajectories. However, these mobile academics may not share the local languages expected in the new context and thus may not be able to fulfil tasks related to the organisational nationalism of the universities (cf. Salö et al., this volume). Instead, they may act as transnationals (cf. Block 2017) and, through their writing or by returning 'home', influence the local communities of their previous home countries. Interestingly, university language policies and discussions concerning societal responsibility of universities often leave out this kind of outreach, in effect recreating the organisational nationalism idea. Taken together with other types of global migration that diversify local populations and eventually also the staff and student bodies at universities, the societal responsibility of universities as traditionally understood – teaching in local/national language(s) and reaching out to the local community using the national language(s) – may well need to be expanded. It also remains to be seen how the Covid-19 crisis has impacted translocal communication through digital means and what kinds of temporary or more permanent effects such communication may have for individuals' and academic communities' language use.

The *More Parallel, Please!* (Gregersen et al. 2018) document expresses the fear that the model of funding the majority of universities with tax-payers' money could be jeopardized if universities direct their communication efforts exclusively to an international, specialized audience in English. Instead, the policy document suggests that universities should strive for widespread public support to "help keep the local

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language flexible and capable of describing what is happening at the cutting edge of research" (p. 49). The authors further deliberate that feedback by the public on what is considered important research can inform research planning and funding. Finally, examples of initiatives "aimed at maintaining and reinforcing local culture" (p. 49) are mentioned. The document thus not only suggests that Nordic universities are to engage in language maintenance and scientific outreach but also that these activities are connected to strengthening the identity of the "Nordic Region" (ibid).

At the same time, *More Parallel, Please!* repeatedly acknowledges that "universities are more multilingual than ever" (p. 27), due to the recruitment of international staff and students as well as local speakers of minority or migrant languages. In addition, the societal need for the use of multiple languages is recognized for professional study programmes, such as doctors, dentists or vets, i.e. professions that "involve a high degree of interaction with the general public" (p. 43). The document encourages the teaching of local languages to international students but also calls for making use of international students' language competencies and experiences in "the international classroom" (p. 40).

Multilingualism is encouraged for outreach, employability, and in the "international classroom" (p. 40), but its role in the core activities of education and research remains unclear. While the need for becoming proficient users of "other languages" is mentioned for both staff and students (p. 19), the practical support to achieve such proficiency in academic genres may be reduced to language courses or online resources in English and the national language(s) (p. 32). In practice, some university Language Centres do offer teaching in various languages, but the emphasis on English and the national language(s) reinforces the idea of "(wishful) academic multilingualism" (Kuteeva 2020).

Overall, Nordic universities' societal responsibility is highly recommended in the policy document and even demanded in terms of outreach activities and widening participation. Universities are being constructed as key actors in the maintenance of local languages and public support for scientific development of Nordic nation states. This presentation continues traditions of positioning education within the 19th century ideal of *Bildung* as a core ingredient of the welfare state (e.g. Jalava 2012). Both outreach and widening access for students from underrepresented groups in society are strongly connected to the use of the local language(s).

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Language perceptions and translocal experiences

In this section we discuss language perceptions of university stakeholders from a translocal perspective. We take Kytölä's (2016) five dimensions – translocality of individuals, of communities, of communication, of cultures, and of experience and social meaning – as a starting point but also recognise that these dimensions are often intertwined. In academic contexts – particularly in research activities – the translocality of individuals is often connected to the translocality of their academic communities, supported by networking and communication through digital media, which enable flows of ideas and knowledge across different locales. Since the notion of translocality combines fluidity and situatedness across the local and global dimensions, we also acknowledge that all university stakeholders are likely to have had translocal experiences to a larger or lesser extent. However, our discussion below draws primarily on examples from researchers and students with transnational trajectories. In this regard, the claims we make in this section can also be related to our own experiences of translocality in university contexts. The section concludes by raising questions related to societal responsibility for Nordic universities.

We start by providing examples of two teacher students, Izzy and Anna, whose translocal experiences can be related to university aims of internationalisation and widening participation. The students were interviewed in their preferred languages, i.e. Izzy in English and Anna in Swedish. These cases are of course more complex than can be discussed within the scope of this chapter (see Kaufhold & Wennerberg 2020). The contrastive excerpts selected here are meant to indicate the diversity of multilingual students and to problematize the categorization of international and widening participation students in relation to university language policy. Teacher education makes an inherent part of universities' societal responsibility in the sense that it directly connects the three major types of activity: teaching, research, and societal outreach. On the one hand, there is a strong connection to the local education system with its own set of regulations on the national level. On the other hand, school education in the Nordic countries involves an increasingly diverse student population.

Izzy and Anna are both enrolled in a teacher education programme for primary school at a Swedish university. This programme covers subjects such as Swedish, maths, English, and education. Over the last years, this type of programme has attracted a lot of students with so-called "foreign backgrounds" ("*utländsk bakgrund*", e.g. 78% in all teacher programmes in 2018/19 including short professional development courses for teachers

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with foreign qualifications, according to SCB 2020). Both Izzy and Anna are multilingual and have had educational experiences from another country before coming to study in Sweden. Izzy comes from a European country. She reported a Romance language and English to be her L1s, and described Swedish as her 'second language'. Anna comes from an Arabic-speaking country in the Middle East, where she used Arabic at primary school and another language at home. Prior to entering a Swedish university, she had undertaken vocational training in Sweden. Anna uses both Swedish and English at university but considers herself less proficient in these languages than in Arabic. As shown below, these students differ in the way they can draw on their translocal experiences in their studies.

Izzy's individual experience of translocality is connected to her educational trajectory and her perceptions of future employability. In the excerpt below, Izzy explains why she chooses to write her BA project in English, despite possible challenges associated with it: she imagines her future in translocal terms:

> Izzy: I've heard that [the BA thesis] can be in English if you want to […] I'm thinking to do that in English definitely
> Kat: why
> Izzy: because I want to sort of **I know it probably will be much harder to do it in English because I I'm learning all the metaspråk [metalanguage] in Swedish** and then I will have to sort of find the same words in English but I feel that it's going to be because I'm planning to to work in an English speaking- (country)

This individual dimension of Izzy's translocality contrasts with the situatedness of the community associated with her educational programme. Izzy admits that Swedish is the dominant language of her programme, both in formal and informal educational settings. For example, she explains that when doing groupwork with her peers, Swedish is preferred. Nevertheless, she admits that English can be blended in easily:

> So we try- **we keep it in Swedish**. But of course, **I can bring up certain words in English if I don't know a word in Swedish and I don't want to google** […] they'll know what I'm talking about they'll translate it so we help each other sort of.

Despite Izzy's translocal individual experience, the community dimension of this teacher programme is largely bound to the local national

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context and does not appear to draw on the resources of "the international classroom" described in the policy document (Gregersen et al 2018). In this excerpt, Izzy situates herself firmly in the here and now of the course, referring to Swedish as the "core language" of her current education:

> I need to know this in Swedish because it's the *kärnspråk* that I'm studying in and so I'm trying to keep myself to it

For Izzy, the use of English is largely associated with the availability of sources and information via digital media. She describes English as a "transitional language ((laugh)) like a bridge […] because also you can find much more information in English than in [Romance language] on google". Izzy expresses an affective stance towards English, which feels to her "more comfortable". We can interpret this feeling towards the use of English as indexing cultural values of English as being modern and progressive, occupying the position of a "transcultural language" in Sweden (Hult 2012).

Izzy's ability to transfer the skills and content knowledge she had acquired in her country of origin to her current education can be connected to translocality of experience and social meaning. In the excerpt below, Izzy describes how she had acquired academic literacy and a conceptual framework to analyse texts, which she can now apply in a new context in her L2 Swedish:

> I actually **went to high school in [country of origin] as well and the standard there is very high** so maybe I'm just used to it […] so **it was a lot of academic writing a lot of um analyzing texts and from a grammatical point of view and such exactly what we are doing now** […] so maybe that's why I don't find this- not that it's not hard but especially because it is **my second language**.

By contrast, Anna's experience of translocality is different from Izzy. Despite her transnational trajectory, Anna described herself as being part of the local educational context, both in the present and in her imagined future. It was because Anna was successful in her previous vocational training that she wanted to move on and embark on university studies, and primary school education seemed to be the next step on the academic ladder. Anna envisages herself working in a Swedish school with students who share her linguistic resources, including Arabic.

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> If I get stuck with **students who have like my languages-** if they get stuck with something, **I can also help out, explain**. (author's translation from Swedish)

Along the lines of the suggestions made in the Nordic language policy (Gregersen et al. 2018), she sees herself as part of the new local multilingual landscape. In Anna's current classroom, however, Arabic does not seem to be valued as a legitimate resource.

Anna's imagined future is thus more in line with the proposed policy of societal multilingualism than her current experience of university education. Although the 2018 policy encourages the use of multiple linguistic resources in university education, Anna's experience speaks against bringing her L1 into the classroom, unless it is used discretely with a limited number of peers and "doesn't disturb the others".

Thus, unlike Izzy's English, which carries a high status and indexes a global dimension of translocality, Anna's Arabic carries a low status within the local context of its use as an immigrant language in Sweden. This perception reflects a perceived language hierarchy of Sweden which positions immigrant languages below English, Swedish, Nordic and other European languages taught at school (cf. Josephson 2004; Hult 2012).

While Anna can use Arabic as a lingua franca, she positions herself in a local multilingual Swedish context, both in her studies and her future imagined employment. This is in line with the envisaged societal function of the university to prepare for local employment. Izzy on the other hand has not only access to a lingua franca (English) but also the academic literacies that are valued across local contexts (cf. Blommaert 2010). In that sense, Izzy positions herself as translocal and considers herself to prepare for international employment.

The five dimensions of translocality (Kytölä 2016) seem to be more applicable to the more academically socialized university students such as Izzy and are facilitated by the use of English. On the other hand, other types of translocality related to needs-based migration do not carry the same kind of value in academic contexts, which means that students like Anna can find it hard to navigate university education.

To discuss translocality from the researcher's perspective, we now turn to experiences and practices reported by two researchers: an historian with a transnational trajectory and a leader of an international research group in the field of human computer interaction (HCI). What we aim to illustrate with the examples are some of the discrepancies between university language policies and the translocal realities of the researchers and their communities. The examples we draw on are based on our analyses of

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interview data collected in the Finnish context (for more detailed studies, see Hynninen 2018; Hynninen & Kaufhold 2020; Hynninen & Kuteeva 2020). The historian was interviewed in English, the HCI scholar in Finnish.

At the time of the research interview, the historian worked as a postdoc at a multidisciplinary Finnish university. She had previously obtained a PhD degree in another European country. While this historian reported using multiple languages for her research, both in terms of reading historical source texts and research articles as well as for writing and interacting with colleagues, the local languages – Finnish and Swedish – were not part of her repertoire. In many countries, international staff are required to acquire working skills in the local language(s) within two years of the start of their employment, but the Finnish university did not have this requirement. For the historian, this was a relief: she reported having "great fun trying to make sense of [Finnish]" but "so glad" not having to master the language in two years. For scholars like her, then, outreach in the local language(s), which is typically advocated in university language policies, is not possible. Instead, though, the historian had just finished a text in her L1, intended "for a slightly broader audience than a real scholarly journal". Translocal scholars can thus reach other "local" audiences that university language policies in their focus on the national context of the university tend to ignore.

Some research groups in our data had realised this potential for widening outreach. An international research group in HCI working at another Finnish university sometimes drew on the linguistic repertoires of scholars with transnational trajectories to help write press releases in different languages to be distributed to various "local" contexts outside of Finland. The Finnish leader of this research group, who also had extensive experience of studying and working in other countries, explained this in relation to societal responsibility, "that we take a stand and bring our research forward", also beyond Finland:

> Finland is such a small language area that if we only played within Finland then our impact would be really restricted. So I always say that it has to be international, the focus, and that means in practice that all press releas-, well all social media is of course in English, but press releases we often translate. So for instance when we developed a new [technique] it was translated into Korean ((...)) That helped a lot, it instantly spread there. Then this [other research] was translated into Spanish and Chinese and and German on top of English and Finnish. We had five languages. And that helped when they are all

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> sent out together there is often a kind of network effect that signals strengthen each other. ((...)) So we get this kind of network effect when we publish it in many languages.
>
> (author's translation from Finnish, interviewer's minimal feedback omitted)

The kind of translocal communication described in the example does not require the mobility of individuals, but it seems to be at least partly a result of such mobility. What is interesting here is that while translocal disciplinary communication in HCI tends to be predominantly in English, the outreach activities of this research group were highly multilingual and not restricted to the local language(s) of the university context (see Hynninen & Kuteeva 2020). From this perspective, societal responsibility is about the sharing of research results in any language that a local community understands, rather than about linguistic responsibility towards the local language(s) in the context where the university operates, as is typically advocated by university language policies. The translocality of individuals thus seems to influence language use in ways not anticipated in the policies.

Notably, translocal research communication is not limited to individuals with transnational trajectories. Our research shows that digital media provide important means for networking and collaboration as well as disciplinary community building for scholars (Hynninen 2018; Hynninen & Kaufhold 2020). The historian was an active research blogger and the HCI scientist an active user of Twitter and shared writing platforms. The historian described how she was able to reach out to professionals and other academics across locales with her blog, and the HCI scientist emphasised the importance of Twitter for advertising the work done in his research group, again translocally. Hynninen and Kaufhold (2020) also show how Twitter can function as a means to strengthen disciplinary community membership, and Hynninen (2018) illustrates how digital means enable researchers to co-author across time and space. Thus, in research contexts in particular, the translocality of individuals and academic communities is reinforced through networking and communication through digital media, which enable flows of ideas and knowledge across different locales.

Conclusion

Universities have always been sites of transnational mobility but translocal experiences do not always require navigating different physical spaces.

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The notion of translocality helps us to see beyond human mobility across national boundaries and to consider how translocal flows of ideas and knowledge impact language uses. For example, the interplay between the global and the local is reflected in lingua franca uses of English (e.g. Jenkins & Mauranen 2019) or in a 'translingual practice' which involves simultaneous use of English and other linguistic and semiotic resources (e.g. Canagarajah 2013). This implies that the use of local national languages at Nordic universities is not monolithic either and cannot always be regulated in line with organisational nationalism.

Students and academics with transnational trajectories may choose to keep their academic and personal identities apart, which means that they may tone down their transnationalism in favour of social or academic integration, disciplinary practices, and so forth. This centripetal trend often pulls towards adopting the dominant language, which tends to be the national language in educational settings and English in many fields of research. For students like Izzy and Anna, this plays out differently because their respective linguistic repertoires either facilitate or restrain their academic experiences. For teachers and researchers, the tension between organisational nationalism through the use of the national language and disciplinary internationalisation through the medium of English does not necessarily reflect their language perceptions and practices. The use of the less conventional linguistic resources tends to be relegated to backstage activities (e.g. Holmes, 2020; Kaufhold & Wennerberg 2020; see also Negretti & Garcia 2014 for a natural science department) or imagined future scenarios as in Anna's case.

Thus, we suggest that societal responsibility for Nordic universities today goes beyond organisational nationalism and disciplinary internationalisation to consider the fluidity of knowledge flows supported by community networks and digital affordances. The shift away from the nation state towards a notion of networked places which are not limited to any geographical location can help universities to overcome the current challenges of curbed mobility.

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